20c JULY 14, 1952

DANGERS IN GERMANY—page 16

New Republic

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

A Summons To Retreat

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Pressures On Peoria

James R. Newman Reviews **Working With Roosevelt,**
by S. I. Rosenman

Merle Miller Reviews **Defense Of Freedom**
***by The Editors of* La Prensa**

Gordon Walker Reviews **Journey To The Far Pacific**
by Thomas E. Dewey

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Letters

Politics and Postmen

● In your issue of June 30, T.R.B. states that it was "pitiful" to see me and other Senate liberals voting against the President's reorganization plan for the appointment of postmasters.

Lest your criticism be accepted too readily by your readers I should like to state the reasons why I voted against the President's plan.

While I voted for Plans Numbers 3 and 4, removing the necessity for Senate confirmation of United States Marshals and Collectors of Customs, as I had similarly voted for Plan Number 1 for Collectors of Internal Revenue, I did not vote for Plan Number 2, removing the requirement of Senate confirmation for postmasters, for these reasons:

1. This plan would have put the Postmaster General in charge of all such appointments. This would have meant either or both of the following results: The appointments would have been made by the national committees and would have been far more "political" than now. Or they would have been made through the internal politics of the post-office system. Either result would have been worse than the present process.

Up until the appointment of Postmaster General Donaldson by President Truman in 1948, the Postmaster General for at least 50 years has almost always been simultaneously chairman of his respective national committee. This has been true of both parties, and it may well be true of the future.

These men tend to be far more "political" than the Senators and Representatives themselves. They would, moreover, represent the President, and what we would have would be a national and centralized political machine instead of decentralized political groups. The President's move to take away appointive powers from Congress and vest them in his direct agents was therefore shrewd but in no sense self-denying. By inveighing against Congressional politics, he was strengthening the political power of the Presidency.

Suppose on the other hand that men would be "promoted from within" to postmaster by the Postmaster General and his staff without Senatorial confirmation. Do not think for one minute that this would eliminate politics. It would merely substitute "service politics" for "political politics." The former is, in fact, generally as rough and indeed even rougher than the latter.

2. It has been the general experience that postmasters promoted from within tend to be less courteous and considerate toward the general public than postmasters appointed from outside, from the ranks of the citizens, as is now the case.

The long-term official tends to become brittle and inconsiderate in his dealings with the public and to feel that the primary purpose of the department is to serve him and his fellows and not those who use the mails.

Senators and Representatives try to get good men, and they in turn generally want to reflect credit on us. The result is, I believe, better and more courteous service.

3. The experience has also been that men appointed from within tend to be more brutal in their dealings with employees than postmasters brought in from the outside. It was Edgar Lee Masters who wrote: "Beware of the man who rises to power on one suspender."

The organizations of postal employees might, at first thought, have been considered likely to favor the President's plan because of the greater chance for promotion from within, but they opposed it because of sad experience on this very point.

Someone may ask "if all these reasons are good, why then did you vote for the other reorganization plans?" The answer is very simple. Scandals had developed in the Internal Revenue Department but this has not been the case with the Post Office. The customs officials and the marshals do not have appreciable dealings with the public as does the Post Office.

In short, I am for civil service but not for having civil service dominate public employment 100 percent. That would give us the bureaucracy of Germany and France which I do not regard as ideal.

It would be better to have government service, in the large, divided between civil service and non-civil service in the ratio of say 80 to 20 or 70 to 30.

The best-managed agency in the government, the Tennessee Valley Authority, is completely exempt from civil service. In general, it is better for the civil service, like the "experts," to be on tap but not on top.

4. Finally Congressional power to recommend one of the top three candidates on the civil-service list for postmasterships does somewhat increase our political influence in our home states and districts, although this is greatly restricted by the rigid application of the Hatch Act. But I would like to have you consider just how long most liberals would be able to last in Congress if you stripped us of all patronage, as you desire. We who try to defend the interests of the people, the consumers and the taxpayers commonly face the powerful opposition of the special-interest groups which will spend enormous sums of money to defeat us. We are also commonly opposed by the political organizations at home and frequently by the national administration which all to often resents independence on our part. Volunteer help, while precious and unselfish, is generally not sufficient to offset the well-oiled, well-financed armies of the special interests. If we are to survive we need some support rooted in gratitude for material favors which at the same time do not injure the general public. Those who, like yourselves, would strip us of the few material resources which we possess and yet expect us to win for decent principles evidently believe in forcing men to make bricks without straw and extracting atomic energy from cucumbers.

Washington, D. C. SEN. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Defense of Warren

● Langdon Post's article on Governor Warren should not go unchallenged. Aside from its intemperate tone, it contains serious errors of omission, and, I believe, of fact; and it draws wholly unwarranted conclusions about whose "captive" the Governor allegedly may be.

Governor Warren is, Harry Truman to the contrary notwithstanding, a Republi-

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Anything Else?

"We need a civilian chaplain—preferably one who has been discharged from the Navy—who would serve voluntarily and without pay," Captain Thompson said.

Incidentally, he explained, applicants should be competent baseball umpires.—*From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Neat Trick

Michigan State College researchers said they had successfully used sex hormones to make virgin heifers give mink.—*From the Washington* Daily News.

Smart Fella

A philantropist who made a fortune in this country said to us that this would not have been possible for him in such a Communistic country as Russia. Religion, he felt, was the foundation stone of his achievements. He, therefore, expected to dedicate a large part of his wealth to the task of keeping religious impulses alive and strong throughout our land. —*From a pamphlet,* Philanthropy in Religion, *published by the Hanover Bank, New York City.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

EVERYTHING is expected to be larger than life at a Presidential convention—the noise, the lights, the adjectives. This untidy, uproarious performance is the direct descendant of the jovial frontier gathering where Abe Lincoln addressed the woodsmen in homely humor from a fresh-sawn stump. The party of Lincoln has come a long way since then. Kleig lights have replaced oil lamps, and MacArthur and McCarthy have replaced Lincoln. The astonishing thing is why Colonel McCormick is not on the GOP list of guest speakers at the current convention.

What is the mood of America as the convention period starts? After 20 years the nation looked for a Democratic scapegoat for its accumulated dissatisfaction and was all ready to concentrate on Truman. But Truman withdrew. Then the Republicans showed the kind of alternative they offered to the progressive New Deal-Fair Deal, with the passionate Taft-Ike family row, MacArthur making the keynote speech and McCarthy a guest speaker. Democratic chances have risen prodigiously. It might still be a good thing to have a change of administration. But with a sigh, many voters will decide the risk is too great.

The mood of America is not isolationist but frustrated. It would be silly to ignore the deep-seated uncertainty and discontent today in the American people. It is not an economic dissatisfaction—though taxes are high, average income is still higher than when the Korean War started. But America is bored, tired and weary with the Korean War, with the continuing duel with Russia, with the responsibility of world leadership. Since Korea, we have suffered 112,000 casualties. Since World War II ended we have given away abroad $40 billion, an average of $1,000 for each American family. Who can say this is enjoyable? The fact that we are demonstrably stuck with a situation we don't like does not prevent demagogues, mostly Republicans, from offering us bargain-basement panaceas, cheap defense through air-power alone, promises of tax cuts, and a "firmer" stand toward Western Europe, our essential allies. The high-tariff boys will be active in Washington if the GOP takes over. The folly of high US tariffs is demonstrated in the definitive report of the President's Materials Policy Commission. Tariffs mean that we use up the scarce, priceless resources we have instead of importing them. High tariffs, of course, also makes it harder for our allies to pay us back in goods.

Taft didn't have to bring down upon his head the wrath of fair-minded men by his convention tactics against Ike over seating contested delegates. He made Ike a martyr and a crusader for clean government. Columnist Doris Fleeson figures that Taft overestimated Ike, and then couldn't draw back. The fact is that Ike made a bad campaign, and never succeeded in rousing the emotional prairie fire his backers confidently expected. Let us set down half a dozen Eisenhower flops and bloomers. The Abilene speech was a flop. Also at Abilene he unnecessarily adopted the 1950 GOP "statement of principles" which his principal liberal supporters, like Lodge and Ives, had refused to sign. At New York he talked about a "$40 billion" tax cut. He floundered on off-shore oil, revealing that he did not know about the Supreme Court decision and giving three different statements of position. He was trapped into an off-the-record Denver press luncheon with a particular clique that made all the other reporters sore. He never did tell his position toward organized labor, going to Detroit with a prepared speech on the subject which he tore up. Incidents like these do not bespeak an

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effective campaigner whatever the Chicago result.

Wall Street has encouraged the idea that the public owns America's big industries through stock holdings, and has asserted that there are "15 to 20 million" such stockholders in the nation. Now comes the Brookings Institution to report there are only really about 6.5 million. This is one out of 16 of voting age. The nation would be healthier if the ratio were greater. At the same time it shows how narrow is the case of a political appeal made to the owners of common stock to defend, say, the US Steel Corporation against the striking steel workers.

Sometimes as this column toots its penny whistle it seems that it always strikes a complaining note. And yet we cannot pass over one more departure of Congress without a couple of expostulatory remarks. How can a nation expect good government—or even rational government—when six months of delayed work is all jammed through in the last couple of weeks? After half a year of investigating everything under the sun, Congress at the last minute as usual enacted billions of dollars of appropriation bills in the time between packing its suitcase and putting on its hat. Congress customarily takes its most crucial decisions in its final hours when absenteeism is rife and the public is turned to other things. Just to give one instance, the Taft men in the Senate cut the foreign-aid appropriation bill another half billion or so while nobody was looking. It hardly got into the papers. In this tumultous leave-taking all sorts of things happen that don't show up until later. Did you know, for example, that the House voted, 247 to 99, to empower the notorious Rep. Eugene Cox (D, Ga.) to set up a committee to investigate subversion, un-Americanism or what-have-you in the nation's philanthropic foundations? Anything internationalist, or tending to better social relations, is fair game for the inquiry. Cox is one of the most intemperate men in Congress. We predict you will hear more of this inquiry.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

can. In a major way, and in a manner which liberal commentators have repeatedly described as statesmanly, he has nevertheless often challenged his own party's directions. He has explicitly disavowed the Party line on Formosa, which, perhaps more than any other act establishes his independence of Knowland. His classic fight against the oil industry, which he won with honor, resulted in a gasoline tax of sufficient size to provide California with a roadbuilding program so ambitious as to provoke worldwide comment, despite Mr. Post's derogation. The old-age pension to which Post refers was the infamous McClain proposal, which was opposed both times it appeared on the ballot by the ADA and by Democratic candidates. Governor Warren's opposition is not to his discredit. The Governor later led a successful move to liberalize pension payments to the point some Californians shuddered at the influx of "undesirables" it might attract. His position in the notorious University of California oath battle was complicated, but it should certainly be noted that he altered the character of the Board of Regents, in his customary unobtrusive way, so that reason had somewhat better representation there. It is true that Warren accepts the advice of doctors in deciding some issues—he vetoed on medical advice a bill to permit castration of some sex criminals—but the scathing denunciation he received from an AMA convention in San Francisco recently is poor evidence of his subservience to this group. Perhaps the most unfair implication in the Post article is that Warren has neglected school needs; no California property-owners' group fighting against school taxes would endorse Warren's forthright position on this issue.

The bitterness with which Warren was attacked in the recent primary elections by a right-wing faction with unprecedented funds at its disposal was of the kind we once associated only with the enemies of FDR.

I repeat, Governor Warren is a Republican, but he is also an executive accessible to reason, independent in judgment, and subservient to no special interest.

Berkley, Calif. ROSS H. SNYDER

"A New Unity"

● I hope that the readers of the *New Republic* will be interested in the message I recorded for the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Paris.

"I address you by modern magic from six thousand miles away. I wish that I could be with you in person. To you who have come I give cordial thanks for a service to humanity. I am at home writing a book, and you men and women of ideas are defending my right to say what I believe, and not have my book suppressed and destroyed—as is today being done with my books in the Communist half of the world.

"Friends and colleagues: We live in a dreadful time. Once more we have seen a revolution devouring its children. Now that its children are gone, it starts upon the grandchildren. Great hopes have been blasted and burned, and cruelty, lies, and cynicism rule 500 million souls.

"The crisis we confront is, I believe, the gravest in the whole of recorded history. The Beast with the Brains of an Engineer controls half the earth. Armed not merely with the weapons of modern science but with the techniques of modern psychology, this Soviet monster, without conscience, denying not merely God but the human soul, is proceeding to rivet his control upon all his coming generations. He has proclaimed his full intention to extend that same process to all the rest of mankind. His so-called International hymn proclaims that the international party shall be the human race.

"And he may succeed; he will succeed unless the outside world, the free world, resists him. That it will resist him, this Congress proves. The spirit of mankind is eternal, and there is something in us that hungers and thirsts after righteousness and will not be denied. Out of the anguish of our day is being born a new unity of all mankind and a united determination to defend human values and to build a world in which good men can find safety and peace. That is the meaning of this assembly; for the defense of cultural freedom is the defense of all freedom whatsoever. Again I thank you for renewing, in the presence of all humanity, the solemn resolve of Abraham Lincoln 'that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth'."

Corona, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR

From a New Subscriber

● . . . I enjoy the *New Republic* greatly and learn from it each week. I am delighted to be a new subscriber. Until now, I haven't known what I've missed.

Stockton, Calif. RICHARD CLAUS

A Bouquet

● The recent changes in the *New Republic* are most welcome. The expanded book review section is a delight, taking the *New Republic* back to its original role as a journal of opinion and ideas, in addition to its reporting on topical matters.

Chevy Chase, Md. ISAAC FRANCK

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VOLUME 127, NUMBER 2, ISSUE 1963, WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 14, 1952 **New Republic**

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—A SUMMONS TO RETREAT

THE DRAFT PLATFORM of the Republican Party is a summons to retreat. Half-heartedly it acknowledges the major objectives set by Americans since the war. Strenuously it opposes the means by which those goals may be reached. It demands a halt to Communism in Asia but makes no mention of the Point Four program. It assails all invasions of liberty and goes on to uphold McCarthyism. It calls for abolition of the poll tax and remains silent on Rule 22—the rule that stands as an impassable barrier to all civil-rights legislation.

Party platforms by tradition exceed Congressional performance. They set forth goals in a forward march. Instead, the party of Lincoln, with the assent of Eisenhower and Taft, sounds the first call for retreat in the battle for civil rights. It retreats from the 1948 Republican Platform with its ringing endorsement of the civil-rights program including "the enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right [of 'equal opportunity to work and to advance in life'] at all times in every part of this Republic." The platform rejects these commitments and brings forth no new commitment in their place.

In principle and in practice the draft platform is a call to slow down America's forward momentum toward equality for all citizens. For the truth, as the record proves, is that our tremendous progress in civil rights since the war has come about either in conformity to direct orders as in the armed forces or in response to bold leadership as in President Truman's Civil Rights Program.

Four years ago discrimination and segregation were universal in the armed services; today on our military posts there is at last one set of restaurants, theatres, classrooms, playgrounds and housing units where Americans are not divided by color. That is because, on July 26, 1948, President Truman issued a flat policy statement that "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin" and a flat order that "this policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible. . . ."

Four years ago there was widespread segregation in the Air Force. Negro pilots, kept apart, were known as "flying crows." When the President's order was issued, the Air Force complied. The B25 squadron under Col. Ben Davis Jr. in Lockbourne was broken up. The great Air Force bases throughout the South were put on a non-segregated basis. There were no incidents of any kind.

Four years ago segregation was universal in the Navy. Eighty percent of all Negro personnel were assigned as messmen in the steward's branch. There were no Negro officers; no installations were shared on shore.

Again, in compliance with the President's order, racial signs were torn down in Norfolk, Pensacola, Jacksonville, Charleston and all Navy bases. In four years the percentage of Negroes assigned as messmen was reduced to 50 percent.

The Army moved more slowly, clinging to the concept of separate Negro units sanctioned by the 1945 Gillem Report. In Europe, segregation was abolished surreptitiously this year when Negro units were broken up and reassigned in integrated groups. In the Pacific a sector of the Korean front was assigned in 1950 to a segregated Negro force, the 24th Infantry Regiment. The experiences of this regiment, the impossibility of maintaining segregated replacements and the injustice imposed on Negro soldiers from the 24th by military courts under MacArthur command led to the breaking up of segregation in Korea. Non-segregation, compelled in practice, was confirmed in principle by General Ridgway when he replaced MacArthur as Supreme Commander.

Here, in the home of democracy, where the Army has been closest to Congressional pressure, segregation is finally crumbling away. For two years all recruits into the Army have taken basic training on an integrated basis; then they have been broken up according to color, only to be reassigned when they arrive overseas. Now the three combat divisions stationed in the US are, except for isolated units, on a fully integrated basis. Among other army units segregation has become the exception, not the rule. The longest delays have been in the National Guard division called up for federal service. Overseas, segregated Southern divisions have received colored replacements including officers. Here until last week replacements sent to segregated divisions

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were kept on a segregated basis. Last week, a colored Warrant Officer was assigned to the last all-white division, the 31st Infantry Division from Mississipppi.

A second executive order was prepared by President Truman; it created, on December, 1946, the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The Committee's report, which led to the Civil Rights Program, was of course advisory. But the bold sweep of its proposals dramatized the need for reform and brought about the progress of the last five years.

The President's Committee pointed to the unequal education given Negro children. It called for legislation by the states and for federal aid. The Supreme Court followed in outlawing discrimination in publicly supported universities and graduate schools. Today 10 states have passed legislation abolishing discrimination or segregation in schools or universities, and a thousand Negro students have been accepted by 10 other state universities that were barred to Negroes five years ago.

The President's Committee asserted that "equality of opportunity to rent or buy a home should exist for every American." It called for the outlawing of restrictive covenants by state legislation and federal action. Since then nine states and eight cities have forbidden discrimination or segregation in public housing; the public-housing projects open to families of all races have increased sixfold, and the enforcement of restrictive covenants has been outlawed by the Supreme Court.

The President's Committee condemned the crime of lynching. It called for the strengthening of our criminal statutes and the passage of a federal anti-lynching law. Since then two states have enacted anti-lynching laws, and six cities have forbidden the wearing of masks in public. Violence has been hindered but not greatly reduced by the limited additional powers granted the Department of Justice and the FBI.

The President's Committee reviewed the denial of political rights. It recommended widespread action including the abolition of the poll tax and protection of the right to vote. Since then, Tennessee and South Carolina have abolished the poll tax. Five poll-tax states remain.

Lastly, the President's Committee asserted that "A man's right to an equal chance to utilize fully his skills and knowledge is essential." It noted widespread job discrimination. It recommended state legislation, the abolition of discrimination in federal employment and a federal FEPC with "both educational machinery and legal sanctions for enforcement purposes."

Since then the Fair Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission and the Committee on Contract Compliance have advanced non-segregation on government work. Eleven states and 20 municipalities have adopted fair employment laws. *But 37 states remain that sanction or enforce job discrimination.*

President Truman said rightly, "Much remains to be done."

First, where integration has become the established way of life, it has been accepted without tension or violence. The only incidents of violence in the last five years have been where lines of segregation were drawn between units in Arkansas. Where segregation was abolished, in the same latitude, there no such incidents took place.

Second, as General Bradley once declared, the armed forces cannot advance too far in front of the people. The morale of the Negro soldier at Fort Benning may soar until taps blow and he drifts into the Negro ghettos of Columbus, Georgia. The next morning it must be built up all over again. But if the commanding general of Fort Benning tells the major, even in that stronghold of the Georgia Power and Light Company, that Negroes will be treated the same on and off the post, then Columbus becomes an occupied town.

Third, the struggle is not over in the services. There are still only 50 Negro officers in the Navy, of whom the highest is a lieutenant senior-grade. Caste, added to color, remains a crushing burden for a Negro to overcome. Caste of course remains among the Navy's inner circle, and at the least gesture of retreat on color, chaos may result. Already, under Dixiecrat pressure, Navy Secretary Kimball is ordering racial signs to be raised again on shore installations. Just as progress in the services was used as a level to advance non-segregation among civilians, now segregation among civilians is being used to break down standards achieved for naval personnel. That pattern will be rapidly extended at the slightest faltering in the White House and the Pentagon.

Lastly, it is plain that progress brought about in states, municipalities, universities and private corporations has resulted from the impact caused by the dramatization of the civil-rights program and the pressure for federal action. Without this dramatization of adequate goals and the pressure for drastic reforms, the compromises voted by the states become the end objectives and a new set of compromises providing still less appears. So the whole forward momentum is lost, at a time when the achievement of the basic claims of colored citizens to equality in the shortest possible time is a test of the validity of American democracy.

The responsibility for leadership is great and pressing in world terms. The Republican Party has evaded the responsibility. Now it is the Democrats' turn.

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In 1948, the Democrats, like the Republicans, adopted a strong civil-rights plank in their platform. Now a move is underway to fall in behind the Republican retreat. A strong effort will be made in the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic Convention to substitute the mights and maybes of 1944 for the shalls and wills of 1948. The Dixiecrats, whose electoral votes were superfluous for every Democratic victory from 1932 to 1948, will threaten a bolt unless the five-percent minority view they represent is imposed on the nation. Regretfully they will gain support from conciliators, fixers and the new "state's righters" such as Gov. Adlai Stevenson, whose rejection of federal legislation denies the political reality that it is the pressure of federal legislation that has moved the states to act.

Fifty-one national religious, fraternal, civic, veterans and labor organizations have drafted a nine-point civil-rights program, including support of an FEPC with enforcement powers and a pledge to eliminate Senate Rule 22. That program measures the responsibility and the opportunity for the Democratic Party to assert the leadership which the Republicans have given up.

THE WEEK

McCARRAN AND THE IPR

The report of the McCarran Committee on the Institute of Pacific Relations was not even printed when McCarran spilled its conclusions, presumably to strengthen McCarthyism in the Republican Convention. The evidence, McCarran told the Senate, showed that "but for the machinations of the small group that controlled [the IPR] China today would be free."

No evidence could substantiate that statement. The report will, we believe, substantiate these charges: that a Communist Party caucus infiltrated the staff and council of the American IPR before the last war; that IPR officials knew of this infiltration and tolerated it; and that the IPR gave up its objective research function and adopted the role of advocate in China policy. The record will indicate further that Owen Lattimore knowingly accepted these trends and that he erred in professing naïveté or ignorance before the Committee. The record will not substantiate the charge that Lattimore lied, or that he was a "conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

Charges of Communism against Lattimore and 46 IPR members are proved, the Committee contends, by the testimony of "at least one witness." In fact, only one witness made most of the charges: Louis Budenz. The Committee apparently will attach to its report a series of recommendations most of which seem clearly unconstitutional.

It recommends legislation to prevent witnesses sheltering behind the 5th Amendment in refusing to testify. That amounts to amending the Constitution by statute.

It recommends revision of existing espionage laws. Since present laws would punish any individual for the past actions cited as crimes by the Committee, it seems to be proposing new laws to punish actions already committed.

It recommends legislation to compel government departments to surrender their files to Congressional committees. That is trespassing on the executive, a clear violation of the separation of powers ordered by the Constitution.

Lastly the Committee calls for investigation of aid given Communists by charitable foundations—advice to Representative Cox to turn from the interracial projects of the Rosenwald Fund to the support given the IPR by the venerable Republicans who dispense the fortunes of Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller.

COLORADO'S LOBBYISTS

DENVER, COLO. *(NR Corresp.)*

Publisher Palmer Hoyt of the Denver *Post* believes shining a strong steady light all over a room beats turning an occasional flashlight into the dark corners. So for the first time a major daily newspaper assigned an able reporter exclusively to "cover" the activities of the lobbyists swarming around a state legislature, that of Colorado. The coverage was not sensational, not punitive, not muckraking, but coldly factual, just like covering the legislature itself. The Colorado public, however, now has a new and much wider idea of the forces that make its laws.

It worked out so well that Hoyt is making this type of coverage permanent, as he is coverage of the way Montana is dominated by two great corporations (he calls it "the last stronghold of intellectual feudalism") and of the abuse of Colorado's state lands by stockmen lessees. And Hoyt adds that he should certainly like to see more such coverage in the national capital — it would add greatly to the public's understanding of "what goes on here" he says. The lobbyists didn't like it at first, until they found the *Post* was interested in reporting their legitimate activities and their large role in law-making.

Within a few weeks after the beginning of the *Post* reports, entitled "The Third House," public opinion forced a tightening-up of lax legislature rules about the registration of lobbyists. It may also be credited with defeating a move by veterans' organizations to establish a legal monopoly of the slot-machine racket by veterans' clubs.

A determined drive, backed by lots of money and Republican prestige, was staged to get the legislature to approve the so-called "millionaires' amendment" calling for a national constitutional amendment to cut federal inheritance, income and gift taxes to a limit of 25 percent. In several states this resolution

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has slipped through unnoticed. In Colorado, the House passed it, but under the "Third House" spotlight, the Senate defeated it 20 to 12.

The oil industry succeeded in defeating a proposal for a severance tax on oil production, but so much interest and indignation was aroused by the *Post* report of its lobbying that popular petitions probably will place a proposal for such a tax on the ballot.

MRS. OLIVER vs. STANDARD OIL

"I'm not a Socialist or anything, I believe in business and profits, but I had no idea companies could be so arrogant," says Mrs. William R. Oliver as she tells of the battle her sisters are waging against the Tuscarora Subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, over the laying of a pipeline across their property in Allison Park, Pennsylvania.

Oil company representatives, claiming the right of eminent domain (the inherent sovereign power of the state to control private property for public purposes by making compensation) intimidated farmers into giving up part of their rich farmland for minimum compensation of $1 to $3 a rod, charges Mrs. Oliver and her two sisters, Mrs. Mary H. Gerken and Margaret L. Hunter. They do not believe that a pipeline serving the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey constitutes a public purpose.

A letter to John D. Rockefeller Jr., and a protest at the Standard Oil Companies stockholders' meeting in Linden, N.J., produced no action, so the sisters brought their campaign in the open, posting across their 40 acres of property 22 signs in all sizes and shapes. One outlines a teapot without a lid and says "Just a Teapot Without Dome." Another says "I Regret I Have But One Farm to Give to Standard Oil of New Jersey. Onward Tuscarora, Piping as You Go, With New Jersey Standard Putting Up the Dough." There is a tombstone marked "Here Lies Eminent Domain When Used For Private Gain."

These and other signs tell the story of what the sisters believe to be a 19th century type land grab. Neighboring farmers cheer. They hadn't realized the extent of the damage to their property, or that there was any alternative to the company's offer. Trees have been uprooted, valuable topsoil carted away, and the land eight feet on either side of the pipeline has been restricted forever. This is harmful enough to farmland, says Mrs. Oliver. But it is ruin to residential property, and Allison Park is a fast growing suburb of Pittsburgh.

The sisters are not opposed to progress. They will permit the pipeline to cross their property. They merely want to be properly recompensed for the damages, and not have something slipped over on them under the guise of eminent domain. As they say in one of their signs "The Price of Liberty Is Eternal Vigilance."

STALEMATE IN STEEL

Prospects for settlement of the month-old strike of the nation's steel workers, which earlier had looked rosy, have floundered again on the union-shop issue.

One of the major companies, Bethlehem Steel, had reached an agreement with the CIO Steelworkers whereby the union agreed to a modified union shop, restricted to new employees. Bethlehem submitted the agreement to the other major companies which turned it down. Bethlehem then fell back into line in rejecting it. Demands for anti-trust action against the industry are being heard in Congress but, to date, no such moves have been made.

Six of the country's major steel companies, controlling some two-thirds of the nation's productive capacity, now appear firmly united in their determination to oppose any kind of union shop. In one form or another most of these firms are presently recognizing union-shop agreements with certain classifications of their employees. Many are now wondering why the union shop should suddenly loom so important.

According to well-circulated and unofficially confirmed reports, the union and the companies have largely resolved their wage differences, the union shop now being the major stumbling block. The wage agreement would provide for a 16-cents-an-hour straight-time pay increase, plus 6 cents in fringe benefits. No agreements have been reached on the question of double-time on Sundays and certain non-economic issues.

LOW-COST HOUSING

The House has again yielded to the real-estate lobby, refusing to restore the authorization for 35,000 public-housing units finally agreed upon by the Senate-House conference committee. Last March, the House cut the President's request for 75,000 units down to 5,000 in an action which Sen. Charles Tobey (R, N. H.) termed "a program of slums for the many and crumbs for a few."

The Senate fight to restore 40,000 units was led by Senators Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.) and Tobey. Bitterly attacking the real-estate interests for growing rich on "$70 billion of housing business that has received government support," Tobey charged:

> Those who have prospered most in home building with government aids are the ones who finance and spearhead the very lobby which seeks to kill off any kind of housing help to families that cannot pay their prices.
>
> These pro-slum lobbyists tell us that public-housing costs money. Slums cost money, too, and they cost people as well. We can take our choice. . . .

By a slim margin, 37 to 31, the Senate passed the increased authorization. However, the Senate-House conference committee cut the authorization back to 35,000.

But on June 26, the House refused to accept the compromise and, by a close vote of 195 to 181, sent the bill back to conference committee with instruction "to insist on 5,000 public-housing units" as originally proposed by the House. The housing lobby's "operation scuttle" was successful because 154 Republicans and 41 Democrats voted to recommit the measure.

GERMANY AND THE JEWS

It will be grim but encouraging justice if the present reparation negotiations between Jews and Germans in The Hague result in Israel's being helped out of her current economic crisis by the people who, however reluctantly,

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made possible Hitler's extermination program. After some bitter altercations over the method of payment demanded by the Jews, right-wing riots in Israel, nationalist attacks on the proposal in Germany, and at one point an actual break-down of the talks resulting in the resignation of the leading German negotiators, hopes for settlement are now looking up, with the Germans prepared to pay $715 million in goods and cash over a 12-year period.

Israel's original case for "material amends" made clear that its monetary demands were not to be considered a settlement for the death of six million Jews or even for the $6 billion in Jewish property seized by the Nazis in Europe. It asked $1.5 billion mainly as reimbursement for the resettlement of the 500,000 survivors of the Nazi holocausts, leaving evaluation of the rest of the balance slate to history. Israel agreed to consider one-third of its claim as being levied against East Germany. Soon after the negotiations started on the $1 billion claim against the federal republic, German officials suddenly announced that any settlement would have to be made contingent on a final agreement on all German external debts. It was at this point that the negotiations blew up with the Jews declaring that the case of the victims of Bergen-Belsen should have preference over those of German-America Line stockholders. To this the Adenauer government has now agreed.

Settlement of the Israeli claim, and of the $500 million claim submitted by non-Israeli Jews, would do much to put Germany's foreign relations on a healthier level. It would serve as a symbol of acknowledgment that Bonn has a responsibility to history not to allow unnecessary bitterness to weaken the cause of German democracy. It would recognize the economic fairness of Israel's claim, and help rectify the situation under which Israelis now eat only about one-third as much meat and little more than half as much milk, butter and fat as the average citizen of West Germany. The $100 million annual income with which the agreement would provide Israel for the next several years will go a long way toward giving her people the better rations they deserve.

SCHMITT vs. McCARTHY

Joe McCarthy, seeking re-election to his second term in the US Senate, will encounter heavy opposition this year within the GOP.

Filing against McCarthy in the September 8 GOP primary is an effective campaigner from Northern Wisconsin, Leonard F. Schmitt, an attorney from Merrill. Husky, blond Schmitt, an excellent orator, is expected to make the primary race a free-swinging affair. He says he will center his campaign on the things McCarthy is trying to hide.

Schmitt is no novice at politics. He served three terms as district attorney in Lincoln County. In 1950, he ran against Republican Gov. Walter Kohler for the gubernatorial nomination and polled 150,000 votes to 272,000 for Kohler. Schmitt made 345 speeches in 70 days of campaigning, and is promising at least as strenuous a try for the Senate.

Defeating McCarthy in his own backyard is a formidable undertaking. The extreme bellicosity of the delegates to the recent state GOP convention attests to the fact that the incumbent Senator will have almost fanatical support. Then, too, McCarthy's political patron, Wisconsin Republican Boss Tom Coleman, will use every method in his determination to re-elect his man. With Coleman controlling the powerful state GOP machinery, Schmitt will have to rely largely on his own energy and vitality and the volunteer efforts of amateurs. Still, he has the support of William Evjue, militant editor of the Madison *Capital Times*, and of former Gov. Oscar Rennebohm.

Even if Schmitt doesn't win the primary, it is felt that he will soften up his headline-hunting opponent and lessen McCarthy's chances in the general election against the unopposed Democratic candidate, Henry Reuss. Reuss, a 41-year-old Milwaukee attorney, has been campaigning against McCarthy almost full time for the last eight months. He has already spoken at least once in each of Wisconsin's 71 counties, often addressing the old folks in their native German. The Democratic Party, a shambles 10 years ago, rarely having won a state-wide office since the Civil War, has been steadily organizing and developing. The Democrats have picked up a larger percentage of the votes each year, until in 1950 they received 47 percent of the total. This year they believe they can win the majority.

Schmitt, however, is not out just to soften up McCarthy but to defeat him. He points to a number of factors in his favor. He feels he can get the support of former LaFollette Progressives, still a sizable element in Wisconsin. In addition, since there is no Democratic primary contest and Wisconsin has an "open primary," Democrats will be able to go into the GOP primary. Schmitt argues that if he could get one-half of the 425,000 Democratic votes cast in 1950 he could win.

Both he and McCarthy are Catholics; Schmitt is also of German descent (as is perhaps a third of the state's population). Schmitt holds that his war record outclasses McCarthy's. Schmitt enlisted as a private, gained a commission, served in the Italian campaign in a tank-destroyer group and after three years was discharged as a captain. He has said that he regards McCarthy's service record as a "fake."

For several years Schmitt has carried on a two-fisted fight against ". . . the small clique of millionaires which today rules the [Wisconsin] Republican Party through the device of the Republican Voluntary Committee," the club to which Tom Coleman and Joe McCarthy belong. "From the cesspool of its headquarters have come the most revolting and repulsive press releases ever to appear in Wisconsin," Schmitt declared in 1950. "They peddle these scurrilous handouts designed to seek votes from the emotion and sacrifices arising from the unfortunate Korean War. . . . These little men and their sordid machine-backers have forfeited the right to the respect and support of all thinking citizens, regardless of party."

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BRITAIN PINCH-HITS FOR AMERICA

A GREAT DUEL of psychological warfare is being waged in Western Europe. It will grow more intense in proportion as the American Presidential campaign gets hotter. For the two are directly related to each other.

The immediate issue of the duel in Europe is obvious. Can strong enough pressure of public opinion be mobilized in France and West Germany to force ratification by the Paris and Bonn parliaments of the German peace contract and the European Defense Community? Yet the major participants in the duel are neither French nor German. Nor are they either parliaments or peoples. They are the governments of Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin is using every device in its arsenal of psychological warfare to block ratification, especially in France. The British Government, on the other hand, has abandoned Labour's policy of relative aloofness from continental affairs in order to do everything in its power to help Antoine Pinay forestall repudiation by the National Assembly.

That is the meaning of the acceptance by Anthony Eden of the chairmanship of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. The French Government wanted him in that post. They also wanted R. A. B. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as his deputy. The two men strengthen Lord Ismay at the head of NATO; they show the effective presence of Britain on the European political scene.

The reason is pretty much the same both for the changed British attitude and for the high-pressure tactics ordered in France by the Politburo. It is that Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin share in common a clearer awareness than any other statesmen in power outside the US of the larger issues at stake in ratification of the EDC. Both know that the biggest issue in this summer's psychological warfare duel in Western Europe is the influence it will have on the choice of the new President.

Repudiation will help an isolationist candidate. Ratification will help an internationalist. American voters, despite their apparently growing indifference to European affairs, won't be deaf or blind to whether the French parliament seems to reject or accept the Communist formula: "Americans Go Home!" The *Economist* comments:

> To judge by many of the voices that are to be heard in Europe today, American indifference would almost be welcome. In 1952 the travail of rearmament and the turbulent problem of Germany have aroused much wider distrust of American policy. . . .

The British Government has now embarked upon a course in Europe that seems intended to reduce French fears. It is thereby in effect pinch-hitting for the State Department and the White House as well as for most American voters of both parties who prefer internationalism to isolationism. The "presence" of Tory Britain in Europe is intended to do what America can't do during the Presidential campaign, to counteract the effect of the "go home" campaign among the French people, and hence in the Assembly.

The British, of course, see the risks in the EDC as well as the French do. The Manchester *Guardian* says:

> There is no hiding the fact that Western Germany will have the nearest thing to a national army. . . . In due time, let some new Hindenburg or Schleicher sound the trumpet, and what will prevent them all coming together into a new and powerful Wehrmacht?

The *Economist* says:

> Is it not a balance of power that creates peace, but an overwhelming preponderance of power on the side that has no interest in war. . . . It can only be done by building a permanent Atlantic Community in which the United States plays a permanent part. . . . When Senator Taft looks forward to the withdrawal of America's troops and to Europe's "self-defense," he places Europe at Germany's mercy once again and re-creates the conditions in which Germans and Russians can bargain at the expense of the West.

The chief hope for peace in 1952, the *Economist* also says, is the fact that the US is actively engaged in world politics. And it appears that, from the same viewpoint, the chief hope for the EDC lies in an increase in British power in Europe (and in Asia too). The long-term reason for the new roles for Eden, Butler and Ismay is, thus, to help accomplish the double purpose of saving the Atlantic Community and of giving it a stronger British imprint.

In terms of the psychological warfare duel in Western Europe, the French Government warmly accepts both purposes. In the short run the British intervention may help Pinay get the votes he needs for ratification of the EDC. These will come, not from the Left, but from the non-Gaullist and Gaullist dissident members of the Assembly. And in the long run, the new *entente cordiale* may lengthen the life of the present French Government of the "classical" Right. The *Monde* suggests the explanation:

> The newly created European instruments are considered by the United States as one of the means of achieving its purposes in Europe. German power is developing so fast that France runs the risk of losing the initiative. . . . It would have been a renunciation of the oldest British diplomatic traditions to permit the growth at its doors of an economic and political union over which it had no control. London's interest coincided with that of Paris. . . . A British counterweight on the continent appeared necessary. . . . There exists in both capitals a very deep desire to no longer allow the United States to direct alone the Western world. France and Great Britain are Mediterranean and African powers. Moreover they are waging in Asia a struggle of incomparable international value.

It is too soon to judge whether the British will be successful in pinch-hitting, on America's behalf, the EDC through the Paris Assembly. It is not too soon to guess the price: the prevalence of French colonialist views over American views in North Africa; a re-examination of French and British roles in Asia; and a new deal in Atlantic Community in which the British will play a larger part.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE LEGION AND THE LIBRARY

by Loren P. Beth

PEORIA, ILL., a city of 110,000 on the banks of the placid Illinois River, has gained a reputation as a center of vice and crime—a reputation which residents are likely to resent. To them it is a friendly place with many fine residential areas, a superb park system, and a bustling, prosperous business and industrial base, a center of Midwest conservatism, so ingrown that no Democrat has been sent to Congress from Peoria, since it was touched by the progressive surge of the Wilson years.

Peoria is also a very active center of American Legion activities, one of which is the subject of this article. A local Legion chapter, Peoria Post Number Two, maintains an extremely active "Americanism" committee, which occupies its time ferreting out "subversive" tendencies in much the same fashion as its counterpart in the House of Representatives. It concerns itself, of course, with the textbooks used in the local schools; but it has gone beyond this common Legion activity to attack the public library's movie-procurement policy, as well as to oppose the proposed United Nations Covenant of Human Rights. So outspoken is this Midwestern Dies committee that local residents are somewhat reluctant, if not actually afraid, to oppose it publicly.

During the summer of 1950, the Americanism committee turned its suspicious eye on several movies which were being made available to the general public on a loan basis by the Peoria Public Library. This library, like most of its big-city sisters, has in recent years gone beyond the traditional conception of a library as a place for books, and lends not only books but also records and films. The particular movies under scrutiny by the Legion were three: *Brotherhood of Man, Boundary Lines* and *Peoples of the USSR*. The first was, as the title implies, a plea for interracial understanding; the second, an examination in cartoon form of the way in which boundary lines may become barriers to understanding among peoples; and the third, a documentary showing the different national and racial groups composing the population of the Soviet Union. All were made during or shortly after the war. In the Legion's opinion, each picture contained Communist propaganda. Therefore, said these Americanists, they should be withdrawn from circulation so that they could not pollute the minds of other Americans who were not subtle enough to distinguish the propaganda. (This writer has not yet figured out what it is about a Legionnaire that makes him more qualified to find propaganda than anyone else, but this point apparently has not occurred to the Americanism Committee.) In any case, the controversy dragged on into the winter months and even now cannot be considered settled, with the major bone of contention being the question of whether or not the films actually do contain Communist propaganda. The assumption by almost everyone has been that if they *do* contain propaganda, they must not be handled by Peoria's Library.

Should the films be withdrawn, if they do contain propaganda? This poses an important question of library policy, for if propaganda movies can be proscribed, logical extension could easily lead to equal proscription of books. Thus the whole policy of a library would become involved in the metaphysical and impossible task of screening every book, magazine or movie to see whether or not it contains Communist propaganda.

We also have here in an obvious if covert form the vital question, what *is* Communist propaganda? In *Brotherhood of Man,* the only thing this reviewer could find that sounded Communistic was the advocacy of racial brotherhood; but racial brotherhood, as an ideal, was proposed quite some time before the Communist Party was born. Obviously, the thought process which leads to the pillaging of an idea just because Communists espouse it can be carried to extreme lengths. Marx, after all, was in favor of public schools. It would be difficult, if not impossible, if movies were to be culled for subversive propaganda, for the censor to avoid using his own personal conceptions of good and bad as a guide.

Under attack from the Legion, the librarian sounded off strongly in favor of the freedom of the library to choose its own films. The librarian, however, was caught in a rather weak tactical position. He made, first, the tactical mistake of denying that propaganda existed in the films, implying to some critics that if so, they should be withdrawn from circulation. This the Legion set out to prove. It found that one of the films was produced by a Hollywood writer already investigated by a Congressional committee. This discovery added to the hue and cry, and convinced many people without further argument that all three movies should be purged.

Second, the librarian works as a hired employee of the library board, which under Illinois law is appointed by the mayor, and is apparently quite responsive to loud noises coming from politically influential quarters like the American Legion. Both board and librarian, there-

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fore, felt unable to take a strong line. The outcome of the preliminary skirmishes was the withdrawal of the films from "general" circulation. Special rules were set up under which only groups legitimately "studying propaganda" would be permitted to view them. For practical purposes, this conceded all that the Legion had asked; but there was still concern that the same selection policies would prevail in the future.

The battle over the three movies, however, was not yet over. The second round came in connection with a fourth film, the United Nations' production, *Of Human Rights,* which advocates the universal adoption of a Bill of Rights. Certain groups in the United States are opposing any such charter, claiming that it will infringe on American sovereignty. The Chicago *Tribune's* former representative in the US Senate, C. Wayland Brooks, has taken up this cause, abetted by the ubiquitous Peoria Legion Post Number Two. One may, of course, legitimately oppose a Universal Covenant of Human Rights. It is to be hoped that one has an equal right to favor it. The critical point here is that the Legion again demanded the withdrawal of this frankly propagandistic film on the grounds that it showed violations of human rights in this country but not in Russia.

At about this time another local pressure group entered the picture, this time on the opposite side. Many Peoria ministers had viewed the campaign against the first three movies with misgivings. Several had spoken in favor of the films on grounds that they were not propagandistic; a few had opposed any censorship regardless of the propaganda issue; one (in East Peoria) had even dared to show the films to his congregation so that it could decide for itself. The clerics were also concerned over the fact that the librarian might lose his job because of the tempest. Eventually, the Peoria Ministerial Association passed, by a large majority, a resolution firmly opposing any sort of censorship and strongly backing the librarian.

Such pressure from the liberal side encouraged the library board; it was further emboldened by the fact that the attack on the UN movie was not nearly as successful in arousing the public as the earlier campaign had been. Consequently, the board rescinded its partial ban on the first films, and all four are now in general circulation. However, every new movie the library purchases which, in the opinion of the librarian, is "controversial," is to be previewed before a group of leading citizens representing local civic organizations. Then the movie will be released, with the written comments of the reviewers attached to the film can. Administratively, this may prove to be a difficult business; but it has a more serious objection, which is that, like the Communist Party, the American Legion is vigilant, intolerant and energetic in applying pressure against all who challenge its views.

These qualities stand out in the latest episode in the Legion's textbook campaign. Shortly after a local forum program last winter, during which a *Tribune* reporter denounced a high-school civics text (Magruder's *American Government)* as subversive, the Legion suddenly awoke to the fact that this same text was in use in the Peoria high schools! The Americanism committee at once moved on the school board. Within a few weeks, and in spite of a favorable report on the book by a specially created teachers' committee, the school board officially retired Magruder from use. (This even though a new edition had changed most of the "subversive" passages!)

Here the matter stands at present. The library uneasily awaits further battles, as no doubt do the schools. The attack has not yet reached the hilltop campus of Bradley University, but there is little doubt that it will; the university draws heavily from Peoria both for its 2,500 students and for its present and future financial support, and is thus peculiarly susceptible to pressures.

The deeper implications of the library campaign, however, are not restricted to Peoria. They involve basic questions of policy for public libraries the country over. Should they refrain from buying "controversial" films in order to avoid the same troubles that have beset the Peoria institution? Most librarians will be very reluctant to shoulder personally the responsibility for defending the educational and informational tasks which are basic to the existence of the public-library system. The result may well be that libraries will feel free to show only those movies which favor nothing; because espousal of any cause may offend some group.

Even were one to accept the idea of some sort of censorship for library films, however, one would still be faced with the important considerations of who will be the censor and under what restrictions. What the Legion committee ostensibly desires is a new librarian who will apply its concepts of Americanism. But even if such a librarian could be found, it is questionable whether librarians serving the entire community should be hired and fired, or forced to cater to, the behests of a small group of self-styled patriots.

A final striking aspect of the Legion campaign was the attitude of the local press. Peoria has two daily papers, the morning *Star* and the evening *Journal.* Both are managed by the same business interests. Although they frequently differ in policy, both are critical of the Democratic administration and of the present city government. Both papers have supported the Legion all

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down the line. They seem to have adopted the viewpoint that the Legion, since by definition it is a patriotic organization, must always be right, and that therefore it should be supported editorially, with the result that the populace of Peoria is hardly aware that there are two sides to the question. The only dissenting voices heard in Peoria on this issue have been those of outsiders and, to a lesser degree, of some of the political scientists on the University faculty.

Too many men will share the Legion's prejudices in the mistaken belief that they are acting as conservatives should. They are in fact storing up trouble for themselves in years in which conservatism may hold the place of unpopularity that suspected radicalism holds today. As Justice Holmes saw so clearly, freedom for the thought that we hate is more important to democracy than freedom for the thoughts we like. Can the zealots of Peoria Post Number Two and their backers learn only when it is too late that suppression invites explosion; and that nothing is more desirable than forbidden fruit?

HOW DISLOYAL WAS THOMAS JEFFERSON?

by Eugene Gressman

THE LOYALTY probers are missing a good bet. To date they have confined themselves to searching for disloyalty among present and prospective employees of the federal government. But they have done nothing whatever about the disloyalty which may have been rampant among those employees who have resigned or passed into eternal rest. The problems to them are grave, to say the least. It ill befits a patriotic citizenry to pay homage to a former public servant as to whose loyalty there may be reasonable doubt. And the security of our populace is poorly served by permitting the memoranda, letters and other work products of the disloyal dead to permeate government files, infecting anyone who chances to use them today.

It is accordingly suggested that the President issue a new executive order extending the loyalty program to all who have served the government in any capacity since its inception in 1789. This would not involve sailing too far on uncharted seas. Existing departmental loyalty boards could be utilized to a large extent, though some special boards might be created to deal with certain historical periods like the Civil War. Much the same investigatory techniques now in use could be employed. Thus a door-keeper who served briefly in the Treasury Department in the Polk Administration would receive a preliminary screening. His name would be checked against a vast collection of names of dubious personalities carefully culled from historical tracts, yellowed newspapers and periodicals, ancient gossip and fertile imaginations. Only if some serious question arose from this screening would he be subjected to a full-scale investigation by historical agents of the FBI.

All of the substantive evils which form the matrix of the present program would lend themselves with ease to this projected inquiry. Such ingrained principles as guilt by association and disloyalty due to non-conformity could readily be applied to many prominent ex-employees who at one time were un-American enough to identify themselves with a dissident group or with libertarian or unpopular ideas. Moreover, all the procedural inequities which have so convincingly demonstrated their brutal efficiency under the present program could be carried over intact. In fact, most of the troublesome nuisances which have been sentimentally maintained up to now could be eliminated under this new project. Little if any purpose, for example, would be served by continuing the pretense of a fair hearing. The subjects of this inquiry would be in no position to object, especially since most of them are deceased and since none of them had any constitutional right to feed at the public trough in the first place. Appeals from adverse decisions would be cut to a minimum. And the percentage of such decisions could be raised so high that Senator McCarthy's eyebrows would not even quiver.

Still there may be a squeamish few, desirous of maintaining some of the maudlin procedures which for generations have masqueraded under the guise of due process. Some may wish, for instance, to have formal charges preferred against the individual and/or his present-day descendants, followed by an appropriate counterpart of the hearing farce now employed. Should such mawkishness prevail, it is suggested that the following type of charges be utilized, though with considerably less informative detail:

Revolutionary Loyalty Board

July 4, 1952

MR. THOMAS JEFFERSON, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS,
MONTICELLO, VIRGINIA.

"As a result of a recent investigation made of you as a former employee of this government under the provisions of Executive Order 9835, which established a Federal Employees Loyalty Program, and Executive Order 10241, which established a new standard for determining suitability for federal employment on the basis

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of loyalty, and Executive Order 12345, which extended the foregoing orders to all past employees of the government, information has been received which indicates that a reasonable doubt may exist as to your loyalty to the Government of the United States and that you were therefore unsuitable for federal employment. More specifically, it is alleged:

"1. That over a period of many years you wrote revolutionary tracts, such as 'A Summary View of the Rights of British America' and the 'Declaration of Independence,' in which you advocated and encouraged citizens to alter or abolish established forms of government, by force if necessary.

"2. That on November 13, 1787, you wrote to one W. S. Smith a letter in which you advocated the violent overthrow of government every 20 years. In that letter you allegedly said: 'God forbid that we should ever be 20 years without such a rebellion . . . what country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. . . . What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.'

"3. That over a period of many years you maintained a sympathetic association with many persons alleged to be ardent revolutionists. Said persons resided in the United States, France and England. Included among them was one Thomas Paine, a notorious atheist and advocate of world revolution. In May, 1791, you publicly praised a pamphlet written by Paine, entitled 'The Rights of Man', in which he defended world republican revolution.

"4. That over a period of many years you advocated that no constitution or law should be permanent, that it 'naturally expires at the end of 19 years' and that 'if it be enforced longer, it is in an act of force not of right'.

"5. That over a period of many years you proclaimed and adhered to the revolutionary motto—'Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God'—and advocated the divine right of revolutions.

"6. That on January 30, 1787, you wrote to one James Madison a letter in which you said: 'A little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. . . . It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government'.

"7. That, according to Confidential Informant A. H., you were 'actuated by views . . . subversive of the principles of good government and dangerous to the Union, peace and happiness of the country', and that, furthermore, you consistently opposed the Constitution and expressed a desire of not paying the public debt.

"You or your descendants have a right to answer these charges in writing within 10 days from the receipt of this letter. Your reply, setting forth in detail all matters you consider pertinent, must be sworn to or affirmed before a notary. You may support your answers by affidavits if you wish. In addition, you have a right to an administrative hearing before the Loyalty Board. At such appearance you have a right to be accompanied by an historian of your own choosing and to present evidence, in your own behalf, through witnesses or by affidavit."

It should be added that, since secrecy is of no moment to an ex-employee like Jefferson, such a charge—though not the answer—could be given full publicity in the press and other means of mass communication. And certainly a finding of reasonable doubt as to Jefferson's loyalty should be given every possible publicity. Only in that way can we avoid the embarrassment of honoring disloyal Americans and perpetuating their soiled reputations and labors. Only in that way can the loyalty program, as it gradually exhausts its current and prospective live victims, stir up enough interest to keep itself alive with a steady flow of appropriations.

THE DEVIL'S ADVOCATE: ANARCHISM ON THE RIGHT

by John P. Mallan

THE YEAR is 1970. The totalitarian dictatorship in America had begun some 40 years before, when "in 1932 the misguided people elected a man to the Presidency whose twisted mind stands out against the black background of history like a conflagration." "Before this event, there was nobody of the people who believed themselves to be 'common men' or underprivileged. . . . Thus for the first time a huge and artificial class was created as an instrument of the potential despots." And "even when the Republican Party had been outlawed and declared 'subversive' in 1968, the people had refused to see."

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It was inevitable that someone would see the political and commercial advantages in a right-wing *It Can't Happen Here.* It is only surprising that it took so long. But best-selling novelist Taylor Caldwell has responded. *The Devil's Advocate* (Crown Publishers, 1952, $3.50) combines political single entendre with comic-book plotting. And like the *Confidential* volumes, her novel is rising rapidly to the top of the best-seller lists.

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Conservatism is always a movement less structured and less articulated than liberalism. The conservative, after all, wants primarily to be let alone; his "social protest" is more likely to express a vague *malaise,* an underlying and almost visceral dissatisfaction, than a consistent intellectual position. The *real* right-wing prejudices against the "lower classes," those who would help them, and all in general who do not conform, are seldom presented overtly; such views are difficult to isolate in their "pure" form. It is for this reason that *The Devil's Advocate,* like the Lait and Mortimer books and *USA Confidential,* is worthy of examination.

In Miss Caldwell's book it is the Military who rule America, assisted by the bureaucrats; we shall see that it is no accident that the military comes first. And third in the hierarchy, most interestingly of all, are the farmers, with whose aid the new state has been erected. The attack on the farmer is especially violent and prolonged; he is presented as "known through all history for his avarice and greed and suspicion and mercilessness." Since 1930, he has supported the growing state power in return for being allowed to grow "fat and greasy" on the farm—and so he appears throughout the book.

Here one sees a viewpoint too rarely in print: the underlying resentment of the city conservative for the government-supported farmer. Occasionally, a New York or Boston newspaper will express this view; but it is usually suppressed before it can spread into the countryside and give the terrifying impression that the Republican businessman is hostile to the Republican farmer. (Tom Dewey can testify, however, that the idea was not suppressed quickly enough in 1948.) Miss Caldwell's hatred of the farmer is almost pathological; she devotes much more time to this group than to the zombie-like city workers, who are contemptuously dismissed as too dull to revolt against their betrayal by their own labor leaders and who now work an 84-hour week as a result.

There is an amazing resemblance between the Caldwell anti-Utopia and Orwell's *1984,* which also combined an apparent hatred for any government activity with near-contempt for the "proles'" unwillingness to fight back against a totally meaningless and degrading society. Laissez-faire anarchism comes close to the pacifist anarchism suggested by Orwell; when a small group finally does overthrow the dictatorship, we are told that in the new America there will be no "ism" of any kind, but only "the old American Government, under the restored Constitution."

Miss Caldwell is neither a militarist nor an imperialist, but violently the opposite. To her, foreign policy itself is a trick of the rulers:

> After the first two deliberate wars of this century, which had not completely ruined the world, a plot was laid for the ultimate tragedy. Communist Russia had been exhausted by the Second World War, and upon her all the hopes of despots and tyrants had been laid. So American Presidents lent her billions of the American peoples' money, directly and indirectly, fed her, armed her [most of this via the Marshall Plan], encouraged her till she was ready to "fight" [the quotation marks are Miss Caldwell's] and thus create another World War.

Presumably the Kremlin will be delighted with this analysis; and the isolationist-McCarthyist notion that there is no danger from *foreign* Communists runs through the book; indeed, Miss Caldwell even places quotes about the expression " 'foreign' Communists" to suggest that they do not exist. She lauds the Latin American countries for their refusal (in her fictional history) to join the phony American crusade against Communism, and her protagonist, Durant, notes significantly that in all the war, "not a single enemy bomb had fallen anywhere in America." To the extreme right, one Communist in Hollywood is a threat, millions in the Red Army are not; and here again there are parallels with Orwell's meaningless wars arranged by the rulers with constantly shifting enemies.

The conservative's fundamental suspicion of the "do-gooder"—to him, more dangerous than the masses themselves—appears in a concluding passage:

> There are never any idealists. There are only people who hate narrowly and murderously. . . . They hate definite groups of people, the successful, the proud, the independent, the strong. Scratch an idealist, and you'll find a desperately inadequate man consumed by envy.

Two constructive uses can be made of this book. First, copies should be sent to every European and Asian who fears that "reaction" will push our diplomatic and military policies over the supposedly thin line between containment and imperialism. Miss Caldwell has done us a service by revealing American reaction for what it really is: a blind, carping negativism which sees any diplomatic activity as a "plot" and which is interested not in world empire but in cutting more billions from military and economic programs alike. The American reactionary is not a swashbuckler; he is often rather a miser and do-nothing to the point of eccentricity, as Miss Caldwell has demonstrated so well.

Secondly, Charles Brannan and the Democratic National Committee should order a few thousand copies of *The Devil's Advocate,* and distribute them to every farm leader in the country. With Taylor Caldwell working for the opposition, there seems no reason why the Democrats should not capture *every* rural county in the fall.

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THE CONTRACT WITH GERMANY

by Robert Powell

THE STRUGGLE for the ratification of the General Contract for Western Germany and the Agreement on the European Defense Community by the Federal Republic is likely to be continued through July. The result is still unsure though it is generally assumed these pacts will be approved.

Since the General Contract practically ends the Occupation in West Germany and the EDC agreement will lead to the creation of a new German military force inside a democratic army, a warm welcome for these agreements might have been expected here in the Federal Republic. The opposite has been the case. When the Foreign Ministers of the USA, the United Kingdom and France and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer signed the agreements, there was no cheering, no enthusiasm. All prominent members of the opposition, and many other leading deputies were absent from the ceremony.

The Federal Republic will soon become an ally of the West in its battle against Soviet totalitarianism. It is therefore important for us to understand why the majority of the West Germans are so apathetic about these developments.

It is essential to remember that a dramatic change in the allied outlook on Germany took place at the beginning of the Korean War. At that time, the Occupation Statute was overdue for examination and revision, according to the Occupation Powers' own promise made in the last paragraph of that agreement, dated April 10, 1949. This stated that "after 12 months and in any event within 18 months of the effective date of this instrument" a review of its provisions would be undertaken "with a view to extending the jurisdiction of the German authorities in the legislative, executive and judicial fields."

Three years ago, most Germans were thinking only in terms of improvement in that Statute, even though there had been complaints about some of the clauses almost from the very day that this instrument came into force. None, however, then hoped for such a good deal as is now offered them.

When the Korean War broke out, the allies saw the German problem almost exclusively in terms of the necessity for having a German army on our side in case the Soviet Union should suddenly attempt to overrun Central Europe. Under these conditions if the Germans were to fight with us they must be granted equal rights, most of them said, and most of us agreed. As far as the revision of the Occupation Statute was concerned, this meant that it must be judged from a different standpoint—did it grant sovereignty to the Federal Republic? The old *entweder-oder* policy showed itself especially in the Social Democrats who appeared to be ready to accept nothing but this complete transformation.

The speed with which the change of attitude has taken place in the Western Allies has been too much for the average German. The negotiations, seen simply as such, appear to have been long drawn out. They extended over a period of 18 months. But this was all too short for a people who had been told they could not bear arms—even hunting weapons—only to discover that they were to be suddenly entrusted with jet fighters and tanks.

Such a basic change demanded a long campaign of enlightenment in the German press and on the public platform. But little of this was actually undertaken by the authorities, and the Opposition made full use of the lack of general understanding.

Negotiations between the Western Allies and the German Chancellor probably had to be conducted in secret. But this should not have meant that even the Cabinet or the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament was not kept informed about developments at the time when it would have been possible for them to have given opinions on issues which have since been the subject of interminable discussions. If many Germans today maintain that the General Contract is an agreement not between the Occupying Powers and the Federal Republic but between the former and Dr. Adenauer, there is more than a grain of truth in such a statement. The Social Democrats were obviously wrong in their contention that in all democratic countries parliament is kept fully informed about any treaty *before* it is actually signed. But the other extreme, of practically ignoring the Constitutent Assembly's special committees (such as the Foreign Affairs Committee) until almost everything has been settled, is contrary to customary democratic practice.

German politicians, of all parties, have not been slow to point out that whereas for six years the United States representatives over here were preaching democracy, they gave little thought to the effect of their actions on that principle when urging Germans to become soldiers again.

In a country like Germany, where the Opposition is so strong and is likely to form the Government at the next election, the Western Allies might have shown more appreciation of this fact in their negotiations. Dr. Kurt

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Schumacher is certainly not a comfortable man to deal with, especially if the subject is one on which he has strong convictions. But he represents more accurately than Chancellor Adenauer public opinion here today.

The General Contract would no doubt have been accepted by the Federal Parliament without any other objections than those which would have been put up for political party reasons. The *quid pro quo* from the Allied side was of course German rearming.

On this issue, West Germans are very sharply divided, with the vast majority opposed to rearmament. The reasons for this are easily understood. Only now are the Germans beginning to recover materially after 1945, and culturally and spiritually they are the first to admit that they are still far from the position held after World War I. The millions of refugees from different parts of Central and East Europe now trying to eke out the lowest form of existence in many parts of the country are a constant reminder of what defeat in modern warfare means. The Germans are not opposed to military service for religious reasons. Theirs are more practical reasons. Many are convinced that a restoration of any form of military service for Germans today is simply the first step toward killing all hope of a sound parliamentary democracy in this country. To say to these people that it is really the apathy of the masses which can produce such a catastrophe does not have much effect. For almost all Germans without exception are convinced that it will take at least another generation of normal public life without any army to remove the causes of such apathy and replace it by a healthy interest in democratic politics.

The average German asks himself what any new military force will be used for. To tell him that it will be in defense of democracy will not lead far. One thing is certain, however; he does not want to be brought into a position where West and East Germans have to fight on opposite sides. It is probably forgotten abroad that, despite their experiences with the Soviet Union in the postwar years, thousands of Germans still think there is the possibility of a peaceful compromise with the Kremlin which will include reunification of their country on satisfactory terms.

The haste with which the General Contract and the EDC agreement have been concluded (as far as the Germans are concerned) has also created a most unfortunate position with regard to the Constitution of the Federal Republic. It has shown how provisional was the instrument drawn up a few years ago, and how insufficient it is for dealing with the conditions which have now arisen over the ratification of these two pacts.

Otherwise, it would not have been necessary for appeals to be lodged with the new Supreme Court of the Constitution on these two simple issues: Is the ratifying legislation to be passed by simple or by two-thirds majority of the Federal Parliament? And the other question, must the Bundesrat (Senate) also ratify?

These problems should obviously have been already settled in the Federal Constitution. But the instrument which was approved in 1949 did not envisage such circumstances as the present ones arising so soon. Further, that Constitution was far more an instrument of the Occupying Powers than of the Germans since the former had the last word in this matter at the time. Then, the one great idea was how to make Western Germany a Federal Republic where there could never be any overcentralization again. Foreign affairs were assumed to be an Allied issue for many years to come.

Chancellor Adenauer has maintained that ratification of the pacts does not involve a change in the Constitution. Therefore it needs only a simple majority. He also contends that it is not necessary for the Bundesrat to vote on the agreements. In connection with this latter problem, the Chancellor and the Allies excluded from the General Contract those financial issues which the Bundesrat would have had to sanction. These are put into letters which are exchanged between the Signatory Powers. In doing this, it may be technically correct that there is now no need for the Bundesrat's ratification of the text of the treaty, but to most Germans this procedure is seen as a trick. All the more so because since the establishment of the new government in the state of Baden-Wuerttemberg, the Government Coalition does not have a majority in the Bundesrat.

The haste with which the Chancellor has also sought to rush these agreements through Parliament has been even too much for his own Cabinet. Many deputies of the Coalition parties refused to be bullied into agreement on this matter because they are very nervous about the possible consequences later on. Such an attitude would give both the Social Democrats and the extreme Rightists good grounds for propaganda in the future.

It has been one of the great tragedies of German history that some of the most important developments have been brought about by methods which were far too sudden and thereby ignored or ran contrary to fundamental factors in national life. It is to be hoped that this will not be the case with the two treaties now being considered for ratification. Particularly, let us hope that as a result of the manner in which negotiations were conducted and attempts to rush through ratification, the whole conception of parliamentary democracy in the Federal Republic will not suffer a serious setback. Otherwise the Western Allies may find that they have a strong military ally but not a political one.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

MERCHANT OF VENICE (L. I.)

by Eric Bentley

IT BEGAN with a phone call some weeks ahead. I picked up the receiver, and a voice said it was Mike Todd's and did I intend to see Mr. Todd's show at Jones Beach. Before I could hesitate, the voice added: "There'll be supper at the Stork Club before we drive you out there." The bait was irresistible. I would see how the other half live. I would see Organization and Showmanship.

Actually, there was something fishy about it from the start, only one is never warned. Two days before the show my tickets had not arrived, and when the *NR* phoned the Todd office they learned there was no supper and no transportion on the second night (when the weekly reviewers normally attend). I was transferred to the first night when I said that otherwise I wouldn't go at all.

The streetdoor of the Stork Club opens just like any other door, we found, but as soon we were inside it we found ourselves cornered by a close semi-circle of severe gentlemen, one of whom snapped: "Yes?" and stared as if we had offered him an affront. We looked down to make sure we had clothes on. Or was it just that they weren't the right sort of clothes? I had been instructed to "look for Mr. G— in the Joquelin room." But Mr. G—'s status was as unknown and therefore as non-existent to the snappy man at the door as our own. Had we not thought of the password "Mike Todd" we might still be sweating on the sidewalk of 53rd street.

The other half must have been in some other part of the club; the crowd in the Joquelin Room was not perceptibly of a different species from our own. Many of them looked up as we entered and quickly looked away again when they saw we weren't Ali Khan and Rita Hayworth. It was barely 5:30 but already the martinis were warm and watery. We could have had a nice time on lachs *canapées* had not discretion prompted us to save our appetite for the kind of meal you see in the movies. By 6:25 we had plucked up courage to ask if perhaps supper was to be served in some other room—there being no signs of it within short range—and were dismayed to be told by a smiling waiter: "This party is leaving by bus at 6:30." No announcement was made but at 6:30 an inner voice seemed to speak to many people at once. There was a general movement towards the elevator. As they passed one of the last tables each nudged his neighbor and pointed at a heavy checked shirt beneath a moustache and whispered: "That's Brooks Atkinson—and he's eating!". People discussed whether he'd had to pay for his frankfurter or whether Mr. Todd had ordered supper for one.

I suppose the heat couldn't be blamed on our impresario; the weatherman is incorruptible and on this occasion refused his co-operation. Still, many of us had visions of sleek, fast limousines and air-conditioned railway coaches. But no, we were assigned to buses, and they were foetid and slow.

Optimists in our party had heard that now at last food would be served: was there not a waiter aboard with a white tie and black sash? Unhappily, the man was a chronic deprecator. He disowned the whole enterprise and professed a preference for working on planes and trains. What had been done about food he really had no idea. To his surprise some ice-cream sticks—Good Humors, no less—were found and he consented to hand them round "as far as they'll go"—which was about two-thirds of the way down the bus. After dessert, the main course. Some sandwiches turned up, and husbands were asked if they'd mind sharing one with their wives. The Coca-Cola without which no banquet is complete was found in the aisle, none the worse for having been walked on. After most of it had been consumed warm, ice was unearthed. *Tout le confort américain.* In any case, man shall not live by bread alone. On every seat in the bus was a copy of the program. It contains several photographs of Mr. Todd, one of them occupying a full page (8½ by 11) on gold paper. "Mr. Todd *is* Mr. Showman," it says.

But is he? In the days of Johann Strauss (mentioned in the program, though in smaller type than Mr. Todd) it was fashionable to miss the first act. Is that why this opening of his *Night in Venice* was scheduled for eight while the press buses were driven in at nine? It can be interesting to figure out a story when you arrive in the middle—provided you can see and hear what happens after your arrival. At Jones Beach, the grand canal that flows between stage and auditorium remains, both physically and psychologically, an unbridged gap. You can't see faces and you don't feel part of the occasion.

The public address system only makes matters worse. Being loud and tinny, it spoils the music. Being indistinct, it does not communicate the words. One is also very disturbed to see lips moving in one place and to hear the sound issue from quite another place. That is, one would be—if one could see lips. More often, one would hear a great bellow from center stage and some seconds later discover the singer's whereabouts.

I don't doubt that Strauss' *Night in Venice* could be pretty swish open-air entertainment if tricked out by theatre artists of the Gorgeous School like Peter Brook and Oliver Messel and George Balanchine; it would be fancy but it would be fun. Yet we are letting Mr. Todd off much too lightly if we complain that he has no taste or sophistication: who ever said he had? *A Night in Venice* suffers more from helpless incomprehension, empty awe in the face of culture rather than from Philistine opposition to it. The dully obvious dancing, the anti-climactic glamor of the lighting, the cheap colors of the costumes,

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the tawdriness of the sets, the ham of the acting belong to the tradition of "high" art. One has nothing against the idea of grandiose showmanship; one will even pay the price of a certain amount of vulgarity. *A Night in Venice* is not grandiose enough. The first act peters out in a disordered fizzing of quite ordinary rockets. At the premiere, the water ballet never took place at all; instead there were apologies on the microphone. Where is the showmanship of yesteryear? No one was entranced for a minute by all the awkward, mechanical approaches to romance in turrets and gondolas. There was a hopeful moment when the tumblers went to work—acrobatics, athletics, *something* physically thrilling was what the show needed—but they were hustled off stage before they got started. Mr. Todd was doing a highbrow show badly for lowbrows, and nobody seemed to like it. If he would do a lowbrow show well, even highbrows would like it.

Many of my journalist colleagues had had enough by intermission but there was no extracting the buses from the parking lots. My friend and I crept down from our high stadium seats to a point where the stage was a little less invisible, though we now had to stand. The chapter of mishaps continued on the return journey. The police proved as incorruptible as the weatherman and made our driver leave the parkway and find Manhattan by what looked to me like an Indian trail. It was two o'clock by the time we reached mid-town. During the ride a newspaperman from New Jersey remarked: "My wife said, 'And *I* have to stay home and put the baby to bed while *you* go gallivantin' off to the Stork Club!' " "Mike Todd had the right idea," was another comment, "supper at the Stork Club'll put'em in the mood."

Are the critics more corruptible than the weatherman and the police? Mr. Todd might consider the case of the servant in *A Night in Venice*: though he accepts a bribe of twenty scudi, he is scandalized at the idea of accepting five, ten, or fifteen. Now suppose he had been offered twenty and not paid. Would he not have been more scandallized still?

RENTED OR BOUGHT

WORKING WITH ROOSEVELT, by Samuel I. Rosenman (Harper; $6).

IMPORTANT public men, as is well known, have no time to think. So it is at any rate with us. Having no time to think it follows of course that they have no time to write. But this deficiency at least can be remedied. Speeches, like costumes, can be rented or bought for every occasion. This is not perhaps the way matters were arranged for the *Phillipics*, say, or for Webster's *Reply to Haine*. Our culture, however, is different and undoubtedly our officials are busy men.

Judge Rosenman's book deals mainly with his labors as a speech writer for Franklin D. Roosevelt. The association lasted for 17 years from Roosevelt's first major gubernatorial speech to the address the President delivered on his return from Yalta. Rosenman served as Roosevelt's counsel in Albany and Washington; for several years while he sat as a Supreme Court Justice in New York. Rosenman spent a large part of his free time—week-ends, vacations and the like—working at the White House or accompanying the President on various journeys. Altogether, I suppose, the political and official speeches on which he worked must have run into the hundreds. It is a tribute to Rosenman's good sense and good temper that he was able for so long to maintain a comfortable working relationship with the President; that he took no notice of small rebuffs, sought no personal advantage, held himself aloof from White House intrigues and chicaneries, and never lost sight of the great virtues of the man he served or of the importance of helping him carry forward his plans. Rosenman was a rare public servant.

He was not alone, to be sure, in his speech drafting duties. Among the many collaborators over the years there recur the names of Robert Sherwood, Stanley High, Harry Hopkins, Archibald MacLeish, Benjamin Cohen, Rex Tugwell, Thomas Corcoran, Raymond Moley—to give only a partial list. Roosevelt would frequently outline the main points to be discussed, sometimes in a written memorandum. But on the whole, the less said about the President's literary style the better. Starting with the basic outline, the writing team would set about confecting a first draft. They often worked through the night, with typists dashing in every few minutes to pick up revised sheets and to deliver fresh copy. Early in the morning the latest draft was slipped under the President's bedroom door for his perusal at breakfast. Conferences were held with the President at odd hours; he made changes and suggestions which his speech writers would sometimes incorporate, sometimes resist. A high order of persuasion, tactful bullying and delicate stubbornness was displayed on all sides. It was not uncommon for the President to yield a point, but he had to be handled with care. Thus, finally, the finished product emerged, now and then a very good one; even the weaker efforts, however, could be saved by the President's incomparable skill—when he was at his best—in delivery. The genesis of the speeches makes interesting reading but it does not make a story calculated to inspire the young and pure of heart.

Rosenman spent a good part of his life in a difficult and self-effacing job. This book represents a kind of emancipation from his formal anonymity. Though it was generally known he worked on the President's speeches, it was evidently impossible to acknowledge the fact publicly. Imagine, for example, the consequences of the President's announcing: "My friends: I will now read you a speech outlined and corrected by me, written by Samuel Rosenman and Robert Sherwood." The announcement would not have been well received. Myths about great leaders, no less than myths about mountebanks, must be preserved—even when they are known to be myths. Rosenman is at once uncomfortable and disingenuous in discussing the role of the ghost writer. Unwilling to depreciate his chief, he is equally unwilling to diminish his own accomplishment. On the one hand he tells us that the speeches "as finally delivered were his [Roosevelt's] and his alone—no matter who the collaborators were." On the other hand he makes it

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emphatically clear — for 550 pages — that Roosevelt was utterly dependent on his team of writers and on Rosenman in particular. Commenting on a speech delivered at the Puget Sound Navy Yard —the only speech, so far as I recall, that Roosevelt composed entirely by himself—Rosenman remarks that the President "had nothing to say and said it poorly." This is not a modest account, though I believe it to be accurate, of Rosenman's role as White House scribe; yet it is not the self-advertising which is hard to take but rather the pious humbug uttered to counteract it.

There is more in this very long book than the annals of Presidential speech writing. Rosenman describes Roosevelt's secret proposal to Wendell Willkie to join with him, after the 1944 election, to form a new liberal party composed of the more progressive elements among Democrats and Republicans. It was a bold and enlarging conception. There is reason to believe that Willkie, had he lived, would have joined with Roosevelt. Alas, today there is no one of sufficient stature even to broach the plan.

Many glimpses are presented of Roosevelt at work and in his leisure: conferring with his staff, joking and (occasionally) losing his temper, presiding in mock tyranny over the cocktail hour, charming his dinner guests, relaxing on shipboard, taking political excursions, in residence at Shangri-La and Hyde Park. Rosenman is a facile writer but neither exciting, nor colorful, nor unduly perceptive. His observations as to Roosevelt's motives, moods, foibles, drives are scarcely more than conventional. Several books about Roosevelt have now been published; leaving aside the attacks of the various professional grave desecrators, unhinged historians, paranoid journalists, rejected lovers and kindred unfortunates, all of these studies, Rosenman's included, are of historical value. They furnish honest reports of the events in which Roosevelt participated and help to fill in the record. In time the polluted stream of abuse will dry up, and in time a biographer will appear capable of an appraisal which will recreate the man as he was in his life and habit. Meanwhile the sum of the information furnished by Perkins, Sherwood, Rosenman and others, however useful, falls far short of fairly describing that remarkable and admirable leader, still beloved and more than ever needed.

JAMES R. NEWMAN

GOVERNOR'S JUNKET

JOURNEY TO THE FAR PACIFIC, by Thomas E. Dewey (Doubleday; $4).

THERE IS SOMETHING about the American system which fosters the belief that if an individual proves himself proficient at any one of a widely diverse group of endeavors, he is automatically an expert on all others. It was this misconception which motivated Henry Ford to organize his Peace Ship, designed to end World War I. Similarly, it was an addiction to this belief which led Charles Lindbergh to seek a role as arbiter of American foreign policy on the side of isolationism. Unfortunately, it is not merely because the individual himself reaches out beyond his depth; too often the American public is willing to attach extraordinary capabilities to individuals merely because their names are well-known, because they have been successful in business, at military tactics, or on the baseball diamond. And it is for this reason that some—possibly quite a few—will weigh Mr. Dewey's latest contribution to our information on the Far East and, in the confusion and frustration over past policy mistakes, grasp at his conclusions as valid and desirable. Mr. Dewey has come a long way in his knowledge of international geography and affairs since the time when he was campaigning for the presidency in 1948. But many seasoned students of the Far East will take serious issue with the proposition that because of a background in state administration, plus a few weeks of touring the major capitals of East Asia, Mr. Dewey is qualified to speak authoritatively on the Orient and to offer reliable solutions.

Whether from a natural curiosity about the Far East or because he envisages a role in some future Republican administration, Mr. Dewey in the summer of 1951 embarked upon a tour of the Orient which took him 41,000 miles, and, rather rapidly, through some seventeen republics, kingdoms, territories and colonies. It was a grind which even a seasoned congressional fact-finding junketeer might wish to avoid. But Mr. Dewey stands up with enviable energy under the assaults of official receptions, formal dinners, cocktail parties, interviews, and officially-sponsored side-trips. The author is a clear and at times lucid raconteur; he could successfully pep up any edition of Baedeker. One enjoys his description of party-life in occupied Japan, his visit to the fighting areas of Korea, his description of Hong Kong—"the peep-hole in the Bamboo Curtain,"—and his visit to Angkor's ancient temples in the jungles of Cambodia. One gets an interesting view of the farmer-peasant through Mr. Dewey's eyes, despite the obvious differences between the author's 300-acre farm in upper New York State and the pittance of the Asiatic soil tillers who never hear of Cyrus McCormick or even chemical fertilizer. And one chuckles with Mr. Dewey at the Formosan farm-wife who hedges against inflation by spending her meagre earnings to feed a hog which later sells profitably in the market of Taipeh. If Mr. Dewey had stopped at this type of observation, his book might well take a deserved place among such current travelogue successes as Carveth Wells' *Road to Shalimar*, or Lowell Thomas' account of his trip to Tibet. But he goes beyond this. He assumes the burden of professional political analysis. And he thereby invites a level of criticism which probably should be reserved only for those with more mature experience and astute judgment.

Any student of postwar Japanese politics, for instance, would question Mr. Dewey's assertion that Prime Minister Yoshida is something like a second Winston Churchill. Few Asiatic governments south of Formosa would agree with Mr. Dewey when he says that Chiang's government exerts immense spiritual influence upon the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. Experienced readers will wonder how Mr.

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Dewey can analyze Japan without mentioning the long-range implications of rearmament, or the conflict of commercial interests set up in the Southeast Asia and the rest of the world by Japan's revived production. They will note that while Mr. Dewey foresees a major military role for the armies on Formosa, most non-political expert opinion—notably Gen. Omar Bradley—believe these armies are hardly adequate for home defense. And they will question the author's assumption that the problems of French Indo-China are all military; that self-government has been achieved and nationalist ambitions generally satisfied under Emperor Bao Dai.

At times Mr. Dewey reflects keen insight into the problems of Asia, as when he decries the "ugly trail of damage done to our diplomatic service by unfounded or ignorant criticism at home," when he notes that we are losing the propaganda battle to Russia, or when he says that among the native populations, intelligence is not necessarily founded upon formal education. But in the main, one feels that Mr. Dewey is merely accepting preconceived ideas of those he meets en route—some good, some bad—without being able to buttress them with his own experience, and often, conviction. This is particularly noticeable in his overall solution for Asia and the struggle against surging Communism: a total Pacific treaty of mutual defense. This is not a new idea; it has been actively promoted for three years by Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and at first, by Elpidio Quirino. It is an idea which, furthermore, has been firmly rejected not only by the State Department and most impartial observers of Asia, but by Mr. Dewey's political colleague, John Foster Dulles. They have rejected it because such a pact would necessarily consist of an amalgamation of nations, policies and personalities which, because of their diverse interests, could hardly be expected to erect a unified, cohesive and effective barrier against Communism. Such an alliance patently would be weakened from the outset if it did not include Indonesia, India and Burma. And yet these three nations, struggling to preserve a precarious neutrality, most certainly would side-step any alliance which committed them on the side of the militant policies of Chiang and Rhee or the lingering colonialism of France and Britain. What Mr. Dewey fails to perceive is the fact that the chief proponents of the Pacific Pact are Asiatic leaders who are struggling to maintain the status quo in the face of a growing gap between themselves and the people they govern. The fact is that if a Pacific defense alliance were to be erected upon the most constructive principles of bi-partisan American policy—technical assistance, the right of self-government, political reforms, and the use of constructive ideas rather than merely military weapons to combat Communism—it is doubtful indeed whether the present regimes in South Korea, Formosa, the Philippines or Indo-China would be eligible for membership. These are facts which have been proven by experts on the Far East. They cannot be refuted on the basis of any evidence to be gathered from a gubernatorial appointment. Neither can they be effectively contested by any of the VIPs who have made the now-familiar summer-time swing out of San Francisco.

GORDON WALKER

IT HAPPENED AGAIN

DEFENSE OF FREEDOM, by the Editors of *La Prensa* (John Day; $4).

La Presna was an excellent newspaper; it may, as the publishers of *Defense of Freedom* insist, have been a great one. Politically, however, it was by no means radical; it was not even very liberal. Nevertheless, it had to die, and in this often moving, frequently frightening account of its last years, a group of its editors tell why.

There was apparently no master plan or grand strategy on the part of the Peron government. The details seem almost to have been worked out on the spur of the moment. They often included violence and on one occasion death; at other times, a façade of legality was used. An end had to be achieved and, as is true in all totalitarian countries, the means did not matter at all.

Early in 1940 when most of the rest of the Western Hemisphere was lining up against the Nazis and Fascists, the Argentine government decided that it preferred the perfumed sleekness of Berlin and Rome. Since most Argentinians quite emphatically disagreed, by the end of the 1941 the government declared a state of siege—necessary, a hastily worded communique explained, as a "precautionary measure." It was not explained just what the precaution was against.

Nevertheless a few hours later the chief of police in Buenos Aires notified every newspaper editor that there was to be no published discussion of the action or any "controversial comment concerning the international situation" or the publication of ". . . any views that might disturb internal political tranquillity."

That was the first step. Two years later, political parties were done away with in Argentina, and the same week a Subsecretariat of Information and Press was established. Herr Goebbels' had one, too; he, with an uncharacteristic bow to honesty, more accurately called his a ministry of propaganda. In April, 1941, the editors of La Prensa were told that they would have to stop publishing for a few days. Why? Well, an editorial called "Savings in Municipal Hospitals" had appeared declaring that the city's public health authorities had perhaps gone a bit too far in their economy drive; as a result, the editorial concluded, efficiency, had suffered. The editorial, which is reprinted in full in *Defense of Freedom*, could easily have been written by Roy Howard and possibly even Col. Robert R. McCormick.

The real reason for the closure was, according to the editors, ". . . to demonstrate how far-reaching was the power of the government and thus silence pleas for freedom and observance of the laws." When the five-day shutdown was over, the police were in the composing room reading every piece of copy; occasionally, some of them had to consult with their superiors. Presumably there were some polysyllabic words that they did not understand.

From then on, the outcome of the battle was never much in doubt. Occa-

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sionally, an armed mob would try to break into the plant or the main office, the entrances to which were reinforced with double steel doors. On V-J Day, a mob tossed a few bombs through the windows, shot at the building, and left, possibly for the nearest station house.

At noon on January 25 of last year, the editor of *La Prensa* received a short, pointed note from the Secretary General of the Union of News Vendors. The demands were simple and unequivocal. First, all of the newspapers' subscriptions were to be eliminated; second, the union should have the exclusive rights to distribute the paper; third, twenty per cent of the value of all classified advertisements should be turned directly over to the union.

That evening, the general secretary of the Press Union announced a sympathy strike of his circulation personnel and truck drivers, and in early February an agent of the General Labor Confederation of the Argentine Federation of Graphic Arts announced still another sympathy walkout. No meeting had been held; not a single employee of *La Prensa* had been consulted; the news vendors had no interest in or intention of winning any of their demands, but the plant was closed down.

On February 27, almost the entire staff of *La Prensa* assembled in front of the newspaper's main building; there were a few speeches, nothing very flowery, just a recognition of the fact that it was, after all, quite an occasion; they were going back to work. After a spontaneous singing of the Argentine national anthem, they began the ten-block walk to the production plant. On the way, the streets were lined on both sides, and there was considerable cheering. A few bystanders even joined in the parade. With the exception of the police, everybody in Buenos Aires knew what was happening. Near the end of the route, an armed mob converged on the marchers. The editors of *La Prensa* wrote:

> They were professional thugs. They spread their ranks at the street corners and opened fire on the columns of men and women. The attack was made without opposition; there was not a policeman in sight. They cut off access to the plant.

A few seconds later, one young workman—Roberto Nuñez—was dead; fourteen others had been wounded, and the distinguished, 81-year career of *La Prensa* was ended. In mid-March the Peronista legislators called an extraordinary session of Congress; the meeting had a single purpose, the appointment of a committee to investigate *La Prensa*. Some legislators said that the paper's policy was dictated by "hidden motives;" others insisted that it was owned by foreign interests, and there was a good deal of talk about its editors being guilty of treason.

A few days later, the police arrived at his home to arrest Alberta Gainza Paz, the editor of *La Prensa* and the grandson of its founder. Fortunately, Señor Paz was already on a small sail boat on its way to the coast of Uruguay.

Like almost all books of multiple authorship, *Defense of Freedom* has probably been watered down a bit by one or another of the several anonymous authors. The prose is stodgy, and, too often, the book reads like something that might have been produced by the newspaper's promotion rather than its editorial department. A more objective appraisal of *La Prensa* would have made a far more interesting and valuable volume. Moreover, in the last third, which is devoted to some of *La Prensa's* best editorials on the subject of press freedom, I could not help wondering how specifically outspoken the newspaper had been in, say, 1940 when the shadow of what was ahead as so alarmingly apparent. It is one thing to speak up for freedom as the newspaper's three editors have undeniably done; it is another to fight the enemies of freedom, directly, fearlessly, and uncompromisingly. I had a feeling *La Prensa's* editors suffered from an excess of caution.

However, cautious or not, the newspaper could not be saved. It had to be done away with because it represented the sweet breath of freedom. *Defense of Freedom* is a clear, documented handbook of the way its death was accomplished. It is a story of sheer terror, and it happened. It happened not far from here. MERLE MILLER

A BASIC CHALLENGE

ECONOMICS OF NEW ENGLAND, by Seymour Harris (Harvard; $4.75).

OUR FEDERAL government during the thirties and forties aided in the growth of underdeveloped regions of this country. Public development programs and investments, subsidies, and our tax program stimulated new industries in these areas. These techniques, plus the areas' advantages, led old and new industries to locate in them.

The story of the effect of the growth of these newer regions on New England was unfolded last year in the report by the Committee of New England economists to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Fortunately, Professor Seymour Harris, a member of this Committee, has published a full report on his own researches which provided the above Committee with many of its working materials. His study is particularly useful as an analysis of the evidence on many current controversial issues on New England's competitive handicaps and advantages. New England's balance of payment, and the significance of tax, transportation and fuel costs as competitive items, are individually appraised. He supports the St. Lawrence Seaway as an aid to New England's growth. He summarizes the debate on differences in labor rates and costs, particularly as they relate to the region's industries. Where data are not conclusive, he presents the views of the contending parties. The basic challenge, according to Professor Harris, is to slow up the loss of the older industries and stimulate newer manufacturing industries.

Primarily intended as a statement of facts, the book is also a plea for action. It reflects the writer's confidence that a "healthy and prosperous economy" can be created. Since many difficulties stem from man's own works, the answers lie in the direction of "more up-to-date management, new plants and equipment, realization by labor of the migratory problems." He is particularly critical of the region's conservatism which has made it unwilling to take and promote federal aid and assis-

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tance of the type which stimulated the growth of other regions. Better use of river resources and improved tax structures are urged as aids to New England's economic security. He is critical of the lower working conditions and social legislation and resistance to unions in the less developed areas.

This study of New England highlights the costs of a highly dynamic, competitive society. It challenges us to find ways to reinvigorate older areas. The current high rate of invention has been stimulated to a considerable extent by governmental subsidies and tax privileges. We have developed techniques for realizing industrial expansion. Governmental aid has led to the building of new modern plants in older industries and encouraged new enterprises. Southern legislators have pressured federal administrators to approve the construction of new textile plants, even though adequate capacity already exists. But only minor efforts have been made to help distressed areas rebuild their industrial base.

Many older areas, plants and occupations are becoming redundant and obsolete. Expensive investments in large urban communities are being neglected and wasted, and individuals are being called on to carry personally the burden of industrial adjustment. As a nation, we have remained largely indifferent to the human and social costs of industrial competition and these problems will bear down heavily on us during the next several years, as the rate of change increases.

Professor Harris' book is therefore a welcome analysis of the problems of New England. Some significant causes of New England's difficulties, such as the migration of capital and business ventures, and the effect of racial and religious tensions upon economic life are not explored. Further studies must be made of alternative suggestions for stimulating New England's economy, such as the type of federal aid which would be most useful, and the role of the large universities in the growth of the region's economy. With the recent establishment of the electronics industry in New England, consideration must be given to means of helping its expansion. How can enterprise be stimulated among the ethnic groups which have not yet ventured into business? What assistance can be provided the smaller manufacturers?

The Committee's report and Professor Harris' book are the forerunners of even more studies and analyses of New England's economic problems. It is hoped that they will stimulate broad-gauged federal policies, programs and methods of stimulating New England's economy.

SOLOMON BARKIN

ACADEMIC ANALYSIS

THE LANGUAGE OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS, by B. Ifor Evans (Indiana University Press; $3).

THIS BOOK attempts a running description of Shakespeare's development as a poet; not very surprisingly, the main pattern is a development from an ornate language to a more austere, controlled speech. Evans seldom goes far wrong, but then he never goes very far in any direction. Most of what he says is respectable, reasonable, unexciting, and superficial. His criticism is of the sort best suited to the one-page prefaces one finds in college editions of Shakespeare. But even college students ought to be told that T. S. Eliot, William Empson, and the *Scrutiny* critics have in recent years made notable contributions to the understanding of Shakespeare. At least students ought to know that these critics exist—but Evans will never tell them. A true academic man, Evans prefers to quote the critical remarks of such scholars as F. P. Wilson, A. A. Jack, and Edmund Blunden. But go to critics for criticism? Not unless they're Dr. Johnson. To his credit, Evans frequently cites Caroline Spurgeon, but he regards her as his private discovery (Kenneth Burke and Stanley Edgar Hyman, among others, will be surprised), whose frail contributions he must correct and interpret. Evans comes closest to recognizing Eliot when he quotes F. P. Wilson as saying that "good critics" have gone astray in finding irony in Othello's last speech. Does Wilson mean Eliot, Leavis, and Traversi? If so, does Evans know it? Wild horses couldn't drag it out of him.

HENRY POPKIN

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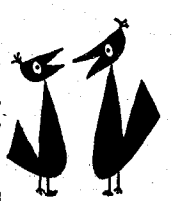

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